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knife—a Collins 128—stuck in a new leather sheath, and calmly added it to the gifts. When the kạ'makra and atụ'kmakra go on a joint hunting trip, the former give to the latter a bow, whatever is required for shooting, and the knife for cutting up the game. The killer of a jaguar would exchange weapons with the first companion summoned by his call, even surrendering a gun for a bow. The tool used by the elders in manufacturing the kokré log at the close of the ceremonial period is not returned to the vụ'tẹ"s father.

Decorative articles manufactured by special persons for the wearer never remain his property, being generally passed on—sometimes after hardly a few minutes' use—to his hạpín. On the other hand, the kõkrị't masks become the property of the Mummers' "mothers" at the close of the festive period (p. 212). In other instances the councilors decide who is to receive the decoration. Thus the ketúaye outfit of 1930 was divided between me and the father of the girl associate, Iromkré, for he had taken great pains to fulfill his obligations toward his daughter's age-class moiety; and I had made a contribution for the festival. For the same reason in 1933 the council bestowed on me the ceremonial lance of the pepyé (pl. 31, *c*, *d*).

On well-nigh innumerable occasions food or prepared dishes, notably meat pies, must be provided. I should have to go through the entire ceremonial to list all the instances. The offerings range from an ordinary bowlful of food and the dramatic remuneration of the plaza groups by the novices' kinswomen, who set up in front of the youths' matrilineal homes carrying baskets (po) ostentatiously crammed with victuals. The obligations of the King Vultures also may be cited here, as well as the history of the arara feathers on the lance awarded to the leader of the Clowns.

Alienable incorporeal property is unknown. Ceremonial functions are conveyed gratis by inheritance along with the correlated personal names. All songs are common property, to be learnt and sung by anyone willing and able to do so. The Sun is addressed in impromptu words, and I have never noted any signs of magical formulae.

Since prior to contact with civilization the Timbira hardly owned objects of permanent value, the rules of inheritance must have been of minor significance. Snethlage goes so far as to allege (without citing his source) the destruction or interment with the corpse of such personal belongings as weapons, tools, and decoration. Such destruction is unknown to the contemporary Canella. If an Indian dies without issue, his present heirs are his matrilineal kindred, who for the time being take his weapons and ornaments into custody. Two or three days after the funeral they put everything on a mat, around which the relatives assemble for a lament. The gravedigger also appears and is allowed to pick out one or two items from the legacy. Formerly the usage was not to compensate him in this way, but with two newly plaited carrying baskets and large, decorated gourd bowls. The rest was distributed among the relatives. The dead man's sister's son does not receive any special share. On the other hand, they always give the widow some portion of the inheritance; in decency she, in turn, retaining as she does the cultivated plot, will give her mother-in-law a present from the crops raised there. If the deceased has children, they appropriate everything, irrespective of their sex. A woman's house and field, as well as her other belongings, are inherited by her daughter; if there is none, her sister or her sister's daughter inherits, never the deceased woman's husband or son. Thus, children of both sexes inherit from their father, but only a daughter inherits from her mother.

Penal law.—Since all the emphasis is on the preservation of intratribal peace, penal law is little developed. Ribeiro says:[208]

[208] Memoria, § 10.

681 622 Arbitrariamente não são elles sós os senhores das vidas dos seus povos, ainda mesmo para a expiação dos crimes, porque quando estes se perpetram, sendo com effeito prohibido entre elles o furto intestino e o assassinio, apenas pode o chefe fazer entregar o delinquente ás partes prejudicadas; si elle roubou ellas o espancam muito a seu gosto; porem si elle matou, tambem o matam, sem que o supplicio deva estender-se ao tormento, ou a outro genero de morte, que não seja descarregar-lhe um pau no alto da cabeça e deitar-lhe os miolos fóra.

(They [the chiefs] are not the arbitrary and sole masters over their people's lives, not even as to the expiation of crimes, for when such are committed, and internal theft and murder are actually forbidden, the chief can merely have the culprit surrendered to the aggrieved party, who beat him up at will for theft. But if he has killed someone, they kill him too, the penalty not including torture nor any other mode of death than their crushing his skull with a blow of a club so that the brains come spurting out.)

682 628 As for murderers, it may be said to the honor of these Indians that neither I nor any person living has experienced a murder within the tribe. The only traditional instance relates to a time before firearms were known, that is, at least 124 years ago. Since it illustrates more than one point of social custom I shall briefly summarize the story:

One evening after the dance in the plaza, when the performers had dispersed, Karąti, a mature man famous as a warrior, seized the wife of a young lad named Wohõ' by the arm, led her to the edge of the plaza, and remained lying with her there till midnight. The following night he did the same. On the third evening Wohõ' was standing by the fire with his age class, when one of his kwỵ'nõ reproached him for his lack of courage. Wohõ' answered that he was not afraid of Karąti, but of starting a quarrel; but since his kwỵ'nõ had censured him he would act now. He took his bow, loosened the string, which he tied round the upper end, and waited. At the close of the dance Karąti once more seized the girl and took her to the edge of the plaza. After a while Wohõ' followed. Karąti was lying on his back, his arm resting on the girl's arm, whose leg crossed his body. Then Wohõ' pushed the tip of his stave through the man's stomach, pinning him to the ground. The man merely groaned and died.

The relatives of both men at once gathered in hostile groups, but the chiefs intervened, preventing a feud by inducing the murdered man's kin to accept wergild, viz. a bow, a large gourd bottle filled with ground nuts, other cultivated plants, and a plot of cleared land. This settled the difficulty for good.

It thus appears that composition was an ancient institution, the wergild being paid to prevent further bloodshed.

685 I have personally witnessed several cases of theft. A certain Tepyét (Hanging-fish) was until about his twentieth year a veritable kleptomaniac, stealing anything loose, from matches to oxen. In order to elude detection when crossing the open plaza with a stolen bush-knife he tied it to his ankle with a string, dragging it on the ground behind him so that at least from a distance he escaped notice because of the grass growing between the radial paths. But the tracks were found, and he was forced to make restoration. One day I myself missed a handful of coins from the top of a trunk standing against the wall. The thief had perforated the grass wall so as to be able to reach the money with his hand. I complained first to my "brother," the Chief Kukrãčą', who brought the matter up before the rest of the council, who entrusted my special hąpín, Čątú, with the case. He came, looked over the situation indoors, then walked round the house, inspected the perforation, and declared, "It was Tepyét!" Then, accompanied by Kukrãčą', he went to Tepyét, flatly accused him, and exacted the recovery of the money. Subsequently the thief tried to efface the bad impression created by rendering me various minor favors. During the final phase of his initiation he relapsed, stealing an ox with the aid of an accomplice, and grossly transgressed the rules of seclusion, so that he came within an ace of being disciplined by the council. However, after marriage he suddenly turned over a new leaf, becoming sensible and stable, so that during the four years since then I have had only favorable reports about him.

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was told, the family of the injured wife would have demanded indemnification. Again, an intoxicated Indian kicked his wife and she was ailing for some time after; a divorce ensued, but no further consequences. In addition I noted four or five rather harmless drunken brawls. When a drunkard remains a nuisance, the chiefs have him tied unless the man's relatives have already resorted to that measure, not as a penalty but a precaution. I have never seen in any Timbira village a post to which culprits are tied by way of punishment.[80]

The damages demanded when defloration is not followed by wedlock and the attitude toward adultery have been described.

Disciplinary transgressions are punished only in the case of the lads in initiatory seclusion. During the nocturnal reunions of the pepyé in their first commandant's courtyard, the culprit was called to appear between the double line of pepyé seated along the walls, where the second commandant addressed to him a prolix rebuke. In graver cases the boy had to lift his arms and the two messenger boys administered several lashes on his back with the long, thin rods (pĩhẽre) that are their inseparable appanage. A pepyé who breaks the rule of chastity is forced to eat great quantities of Cayenne pepper. In 1933 the councilors were about to decree this penalty for Tepyét because he sneaked out of his retreat every night to visit his fiancée; but when Tepyét saw that the elders really meant to punish him, he altered his conduct in the nick of time. Among the Apą'nyekra such a culprit would be removed from his retreat and set in the plaza beside his associate in guilt, which was regarded as very ignominious.

Evil sorcerers were executed (see p. 239 f.).

The following legal principles emerge from the concrete instances: (1) Both the culprit and the aggrieved party are aided by the extended families; (2) the chiefs and councilors take pains to adjust quarrels as soon as possible; (3) for this purpose they use the services either of specially gifted persons or of the individuals linked by specially close ties to the parties involved.

Chiefs.—As indicated above, a chief does not command and punish, but is above all a peacemaker. He does not interfere in a family's private affairs, but when his decision is requested it is held binding. At the time of my visit there were three village chiefs, Ropką' (Jaguar-skin), Hąktokót, and Kukrãčą'. Ropką', the oldest, had been mamkyẽ'ti of an age-class that graduated about 1893, but his colleagues had never served in a corresponding capacity. Whenever strife threatens, the chiefs and councilors send men of recognized skill as moderators to calm a refractory tribesman.

The leader of any unit excepting the age-classes is called pa'hí, mehopa'hí, but only a village chief is hąmrén.

Chiefs exercise little political control and display a minimum of individual assertiveness, for the omnipresent ceremonial regulates most of the social life, and it is their and the council's duty to maintain the customary law rather than legislate anew. Chiefs lack badges of official status and receive not a whit more of the food offerings periodically presented in the plaza than the councilors associated with them. They work for a living precisely as any fellow tribesman. However, they do enjoy a measure of prestige, as shown by certain rules of etiquette. Thus, strangers must present themselves to one of the chiefs and explain the object of their visit; he may then either discuss the matter with his colleagues and the council at their next session or immediately call an extraordinary meeting. In the plaza a chief always sits near the center, for it would be indecorous for anyone else to seat himself in front of a chief or to turn his back upon him.

[80] As related by Pompeu Sobrinho, Merrime, 13.

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Properly the commandant-in-chief ought to punish incontinence, but such disciplinary action was rare and, in general, Kopkré's choice for this important office proved rather unfortunate. Contrary to ancient custom, a fair number of pepyé were already married, and these often sneaked off to their wives instead of spending the night in their cells. Anciently, transgressors with wanton women would have been forced to eat large doses of pepper; and the Apą'nyekra seated the guilty couple publicly in the plaza, which was reckoned a disgrace. In 1933 the commandant could not strictly enforce the rule because he himself was an offender; one night I myself caught not indeed his wife, but a wanton slipping into his cell. The deputy was far more scrupulous; during the entire period of segregation he slunk off only on two or three nights to caress an infant daughter in his young wife's house.

At intervals of several days the pepyé secretly met at night in the courtyard of the deputy or, at times, of the commandant—usually because of some gross breach of the rules. The penalty, if inflicted, consisted of flogging by the errand boys acting under the deputy's orders after a secret agreement between him and the commandant. The errand boys accordingly always appear in public with their rods, which are about 1.30 m. long, very thin, and flexible. At the meetings both the commandant and his deputy uttered lengthy admonitions and tirades mainly bearing on the rules of seclusion and marriage. Maintenance of the former insures a successful internment, that is, one by which the pepyé rapidly acquire, in native belief, the strength of men, being enabled to pit themselves in sport against the next older class—a matter of honor. The marriage regulations loom large, because formerly most of the pepyé married soon after the festival and moved into the houses of their mothers-in-law. In matrimony, too, the Indians' supreme rule is to avoid quarrels, let alone brawls, which were expressly branded as setting a bad example for the children, who are to be educated in the traditional mores. A spouse's industry is represented as prerequisite to a happy union, but the harangues also refer to the faults of some girls, such as frivolity, laziness, and mendacity. Further, the lectures extend to the proper behavior toward kin, especially toward the wife's relatives, to the formalized friendship bonds, and to the prerogatives of elders, who are always to be treated with reverence. Thievery and lying are denounced.

Actual conduct, it must be admitted, more or less deviates from the ideals preached, nevertheless the reality of the standards is certain; and to judge from the spontaneous remarks made to me by various pepyé, at least under the influence of the ceremonial setting, many of the youths took them very seriously.

The commandant is responsible to the council for the demeanor and prosperity of his pepyé, being blamed if the young men fall short of the standards, physical and moral, at the close of their initiation.

Between 3 A.M. and 10 P.M. the catcher makes about five daily circuits through all the houses of internment. He carries a thick, heavy cane, 1.65 m. in length, not club-fashion under his arm, but so as to lean on it in walking. In the daytime he takes his stand before the cell, at night before the door of the house of retreat, facing the plaza, and remains silent for one or two minutes, both hands laid on the upper end of his cane. Then, rocking his body to and fro, he loudly utters his "hinkõ" cry, "hõ! hõ–õ!" At the last "õ!" he stamps with his right foot, waits immobile for another minute, and then passes on to the next house.

Besides the scratchers (pl. 35, *b*), shared with all other persons who for some reason have to go into a ceremonial retreat, the pepyé have two objects peculiar to their seclusion and made only during this period.

Their club (koppo) is a narrow board, 4–6 cm. wide and 60–112 cm. long, with the

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This is the avaitipó chant proper, for in the singing the two initial words are pronounced avaitipó. The arrangement and step of the dancers were those of the second chant, but the performers did not swing their arms and legs. This closed the singing lesson.

Races; cementing of formal friendship; chants.—After the departure of all visitors, the pepyé arranged a race with the miniature pąrare logs, 25 cm. long, which the catcher had secretly made for them and given to the eastern leader (pl. 35, *d*). Since no other age class was available as a rival team and the season precluded a division into kąʼ and atųʼk, the novices split up according to eastern and western plaza moieties. For the time being the pepyé are able to run only with the pąrare—and even with these only in secret, for the wakõʼkama would not permit the manufacture of true full-sized race logs, and would confiscate even the pąrare if they should discover them.

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In the afternoon, shortly before sunset, the pepyé marched back from their camp by the brook to the village, where they collected food in their mothers' houses. Henceforth this occurred daily at this hour.

On the same day the cells and fences of all pepyé retreats were dismantled.

Very early on the morning of July 17, Chief Kukrãčąʼ, old Koyapąʼ, the catcher, and an Indian named Korãʼ went to the pepyé camp. They halted in the steppe on a path parallel to the edge of the wood and leading upstream, while the catcher went to call the pepyé camped near by. These appeared, passed by without a word, and vanished except for the two girls, who stayed behind. I do not know how far they walked. In the meantime Korãʼ made two brooms of pau de leite twigs, which he handed to the girls, who expectantly took their stand across the path. Not long after this the blast of horns resounded, and the pepyé, their bodies and especially their faces blackened with charcoal, came rushing up, headed by the champion singer, Tepyét. At once the newcomers, propping their hands on their knees, took places before the girls, who dealt their backs several lashes with the broom, allegedly to purge them of flabbiness. The deputy, who had long ago reached the goal, ran back to fetch the last one of the racers. Running behind him, he constantly lashed his legs and back with the pau de leite twigs, and the vexed expression of his face clearly indicated his sense of responsibility for the disgrace of having such a weakling in his class.

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His annoyance found vent in a long and vehement tirade delivered at his age mates, ranged about him in a semicircle. He ascribed the poor result of the race to their failure, despite all his admonitions, to obey the rules of seclusion, and bitterly complained of their disobedience. At last he himself joined the semicircle, and old Koyapąʼ now held forth in a second harangue, alleging among other things that only Tepyét had rigidly adhered to the regulations, which was why he had beaten all the other runners. This, however, was a very inadequate statement of the facts, for Tepyét had been one of the cattle lifters and not long before had been threatened with the pepper penalty for spending every night with his pretty young fiançée Yarpót rather than in his cell.

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Somewhat abashed, the pepyé marched to their camp in the woods by the stream, where they crowded about a water hole in order to cement the two types of formal friendship (p. 100 ff.). All pepyé formed several alliances of these types among themselves. For my own hąpín I acquired the two class leaders, the errand boys, the unavoidable Tepyét, and two others; the deputy and three others became my kwųʼnó; and of the two girls, Horarák became my pinčwęʼi and Koté my kwųʼnõʼ.

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After the establishment of formal friendships, a many-branched tree was chosen

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